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The Indictment

BY

Hon. Daniel F. Cohalan

Justice of the Supreme Court

STATE OF NEW YORK

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FOREWORD

By Hon. John Jerome Rooney,
Former Chief Judge of the Court of Claims of New York State

A word about the author of the following remarkable pamphlet. Without doubt the paper is one of the most powerful and unique polemics yet produced by Ireland's most recent struggle for independence.

To the Irish race in America, and the friends of Ireland's cause, the author, Daniel Florence Cohalan, stands out as a strong national and international figure. Above all else, he is to them a 100 per cent American, whose fight for Ireland's liberty grows directly out of his American character and principles.

He is a native of the State of New York, born at Middletown. He is in the full vigor of middle age. Of the pure Celtic strain of the "fighting race," members of his family have been in every war for America from the Revolution on.

He is a graduate of Manhattan College, of New York City. Admitted to the Bar in 1888, for many years he practiced law in New York. He became interested in politics, and, over a course of years, wrote the State and City platforms of one of the great parties. In the year 1911 he was appointed to the Supreme Court bench of the State of New York and, in the following election, he was elected to a full term of fourteen years.

From the days of his youth he was interested in the cause of Ireland, and constantly worked and spoke in her behalf. He has visited Ireland many times; has a beautiful country place near Cork, and, oddly enough, knows England almost as well as he knows Ireland. He has been many times a visitor of both countries and is a close student of their histories.

No man in this country is better acquainted with the strength and weakness of England, and no one is more familiar than he with the methods of conquest and exploitation by which the world-wide British Empire has been built up.

He has made a complete study of the economic factors underlying the struggle between England and Ireland. This arsenal of knowledge, joined with a direct, simple, forceful style of speaking, makes him one of the most convincing and powerful speakers in the United States. His logic is inexorable. This quality, joined with great legal attainments, has given him a reputation as one of the soundest and most capable Judges of the Supreme Bench of the State of New York.

Justice Cohalan is today the leader of the Irish race and the Irish cause in America.

To him is chiefly due the rise and progress of the more recent great Irish movement in America. It was he who started the formation of the Friends of Irish Freedom, the national organization which today is to be found in every State of the Union.

He presided over the great Irish Race Convention in Philadelphia, February last, to which over five thousand delegates were accredited. The resolutions at the Convention were presented by Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore, and were seconded by a Jewish Rabbi, an Episcopal Minister and a Presbyterian Minister.

To Justice Cohalan the claim of Ireland admits of no compromise: The Irish Republic, established by the will of the vast majority of the Irish people, must be recognized.

That solution, and that only, can satisfy the people of Ireland, and, therefore, the American friends of Ireland and of Liberty throughout the world, and contribute to the making of a just and permanent peace for all mankind.

New York, July, 1919.

Gift

Author

THE INDICTMENT

By Hon. Daniel F. Cohalan, Justice Supreme Court, New York

The great trouble with the mass of the people of America on the question of Ireland is their viewpoint thereon. Without intending to be unfair, they take for granted the justice of the English view. They find England—largely the mistress of the world and in many ways admitted to be the leader of modern civilization—in possession of Ireland.

They find, according to histories mainly written by England's friends, that she has been thus in Ireland for centuries, and they take it for granted that she must be there legally; that she is there as a matter of right. They take for granted, too, that in the evolution of civilization, in the making of history, that conditions required her to be there, and that England's claim to the overlordship of Ireland is a valid and just claim.

This view is strengthened by all the literature which most Americans ever read. The so-called English literature with which Americans come in contact usually rates England as the one great power which, through the centuries past, has been carrying aloft the torch of justice and progress into the dark corners of the world. So, it is not to be wondered at that many Americans are prone to think of England as the guiding star of civilization, educating and lifting up down-trodden suffering peoples that have been tyrannized over by their national tyrants.

This is the view of England that Englishmen like to have the world take of their country. Because of this viewpoint, it is extremely difficult to get before the American jury—fair as it intends to be—the actual facts of history, not to speak of the present-day conditions, as they exist in Ireland.

The Dominating Figures in England

The ordinary American, accustomed to giving almost all of his time to a study of internal conditions of his own country—so far as his interest leads him on—has not learned to differentiate between the England which is and the England that, according to her writers and poets, *seems* to be.

He has not come to understand that the English democracy of which he hears and reads so much has little reality in fact in **government**, and that England still continues to be governed by a handful of men, representing, with but few exceptions, the same small group of titled land-controlling families that have governed England since the days of Henry the Eighth, if not, in fact, much longer. Since the downfall of continental aristocracies this condition is true of England more than of any other country.

The dominating figures in England today—those in actual power—are the Cecils and their relations. Lloyd George or some other figure that has come to represent democracy or radicalism, if you will, in the eyes of the world, is put forward as the Premier of governing authority. But the will that dominates, controls and finally directs the policies and actions of England, is that of the master spirit Cecil, no matter which member of that family or its connections it may happen to be.

In the last generation it was the Marquis of Salisbury, former Premier of England, the man who said, some forty years ago, that England and America were natural rivals in every court and in every port; the man who more than any other—with the exception of Joseph Chamberlain, the great radical who rattled and joined the forces of conservatism—was responsible for the destruction of the two little Republics in South Africa.

It was this same Salisbury who said, in the days when the Irish were carrying everything before them in the Parliamentary fights in the House of Commons, that the Irish were no better than the Hottentots and should

receive the same treatment. It was the same man who represented England in the Congress of Berlin and of whom Bismarck said—because he quit when opposed by superior force—that he reminded him of a lath, painted to look like iron.

Salisbury was aided and was succeeded by his nephew, Arthur James Balfour, who became Premier of England, first Lord of the Admiralty, and a number of other high-sounding things, but who has never been able to wipe out the title of "Bloody Balfour" conferred upon him by the people of Ireland when he was Chief Secretary and, among other acts, ordered the shooting, if necessary, by the troops, in cold blood, of the defenseless, unarmed people of Mitchelstown.

Balfour is still to the fore and is probably the chief governing force in England today, except in so far as he is displaced by his cousin, Lord Robert Cecil, son of the Marquis of Salisbury and father of the proposed League of Nations—which would, if it became effective, undo the work of the Revolution and put us in the position of being again a vassal state of England, subject to the control of the Cecils or any other landed aristocracy that might, in the future, control the destinies of England and the world.

These are types of the men who dominate England, and, through her, control the British Empire. The little King George V, first cousin to the late Emperor of the Germans and the Czar of the Russians, at present represents the German royal family as King of England and Emperor of India.

He rules over every third person on earth and over almost every third square mile of land on earth. He is actually master of all the seas and is at the head of a government more powerful than any which ever before existed in all the history of mankind.

Englishmen like to say that King George reigns but does not rule. That is true. The real ruling force is that handful of aristocrats who represent the landed feudal aristocracy of England and who form the most absolute, most arbitrary and most powerful autocracy the world has ever seen.

England Makes Other Nations Supply the Soldiers

The history of England differs from that of every other country. No other country before her has reached her dominant place among the Empires of the earth. Rome approached nearer to England than did any other country in similarity of methods by which she acquired world control. Her Imperial motto, "Divide et Impera," marked the policy by which she subdued almost the entire world of her day and ruled the known world without a rival for centuries.

But Rome acquired most of her power through her own soldiers. The generals who led her armies to victory were of Roman blood; the soldiers who swept everything before them on the field of battle were Roman legions, who found few who could stand before them. They risked their own lives, their own blood, for the quarrels of their country, in order that her will might be imposed upon other countries.

England has improved on all this. She follows the Roman motto, but because she leaves the control of the policy of her government in the hands of her diplomats; other nations, other races, are made to supply the generals who win the battles, and the soldiers who bleed, in order that England may grow great.

England's Policy Takes Advantage of Friend and Foe

This policy which had its beginning under Henry the Eighth has been consistently carried forward, subordinating every other interest to that of the growth of England and the extension of her power. It has been carried on through the ages by every government which came into power in England, no matter what its domestic policy may have been.

Englishmen may differ upon domestic problems—upon questions of taxation, of education, of religion—but as against all foreigners they are a unit and their policy is always consistently to take advantage of all openings given them throughout the world, to make and unmake alliances, to make and break treaties, to take advantage of friend and foe in order to

add to the wealth and power of England and to break down those who have stood against her.

One of the results of this policy is seen today in the proud boast of England that the sun never sets on the British Empire. Her flag flies in triumph over territory in every continent and in most of the important islands of the seas. It is carried aloft as the flag controlling the power on every sea of the world.

Her forts guard practically all the great narrow waterways of the earth, with the exception of the Panama Canal; and there by reason of her extraordinary influence over American legislation, England has acquired for her commerce all the rights and privileges enjoyed by American commerce, although the Panama Canal belongs to us, was built by America and paid for by America's treasures.

Moulding Public Opinion of the World

Another and if possible more important result of this policy of England is the extraordinary control she has gained over public opinion in every country in the world. Her soldiers have won battles for her on land, her admirals have won fights at sea, but these are as nothing when compared to the triumph of her diplomats. No group of men in the history of the world can compare in skill, in adroitness, in finesse, in influence, with the diplomats of England.

The visible British Empire is an external monument of their triumph, but the invisible British Empire, with its control of influences in every government on earth, its thousand and one ways of making opinion through the press, the magazines, the pulpits, the schools, of every race and in every clime, is a vaster, more far-reaching monument of their finesse, their adroitness, their ability to make black seem white.

The Romans were satisfied with their triumph at arms. When their soldiers had beaten down those of the opponent, the generals and princes of the vanquished were brought to Rome and made to walk sub jugo through the streets, chained to the wheels of the chariots of the Roman Consul.

The English diplomat, more skilled in human nature, more subtle, more far-reaching in his plans, is not satisfied with such outward marks of triumph. He carries on a campaign throughout the world, to justify his actions, and, if possible, to ease his own conscience. As an example:

England Attempts to Destroy the Soul of Ireland

Even though England by brute force has been in possession of the body of Ireland for centuries, the English diplomat continues his fight to destroy the soul of Ireland. Even though he has proclaimed, at the birth of each succeeding generation, that he has again conquered Ireland, he still keeps looking in vain for a declaration from the people of Ireland that they have been conquered.

He tells himself that he has beaten the Irish because of the thousand and one cruelties he has practiced upon them, but he knows in his heart that he cannot conquer the Irish people while one man and one woman of Irish blood survive.

He knows—if the world does not know—that the people of Ireland want absolute independence. He has been able with a thousand subterfuges to confuse the thought of the world on the question of what Ireland wants, but he cannot deceive himself.

The Balfours and Cecils of this generation know, as well as Burleigh, their relative, in the days of the reign of Elizabeth knew, that what Ireland wants is to have England get out of Ireland, bag and baggage, and leave the people of Ireland to govern their own country in their own way.

Ireland Is United for Absolute Independence

In the last analysis, the question between England and Ireland is simplicity itself. There are two nations, each of which wishes to rule, govern, own Ireland. One is the Irish nation, to whom Ireland belongs, for whom it was set apart by God Almighty Himself from all the rest of the world.

The Irish people have dwelt in Ireland for thousands of years, distinct

and separate in a hundred ways from all other peoples, set apart in nature, in thought, in language, in custom, from the rest of the world, marked by the hand of God with an individuality all their own.

The Irish people have their own strength, their own virtues, their own gifts, their own weaknesses, but differ from and are different to any and all other races of men. The Irish people have absorbed all other strains of blood that have gone into the strange country of Ireland so as to have made strangers who have gone there, after a few generations, an integral part of themselves, or, as an old writer phrased it, "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

The other nation that wishes to own, govern and rule Ireland is the English nation, belonging to England but foreign to Ireland. A nation of great gifts, great failings; a nation that may yet, in the Providence of God, reach the point where it can be made to see that it will be greater to conquer itself than to conquer a city or a world; greater to bring peace, contentment and opportunity for decent living, not to some portion of itself but to all its people, so that it may not be said in the future, as it was said in the past, in a recent report of a British Commission that one-third of the people of England did not have a week between themselves and starvation.

Ireland Only Wants What Belongs to Her

If the question between Ireland and England were between two individuals, no jury sitting in any part of America would have any difficulty in disposing of the matter. Ireland does not ask anything of England except to be let alone. She wants only what belongs to her. She wants only that which was her own. She wants to govern herself and her own people in her own way, according to her own standards, and with absolute religious freedom and political equality for all of her children.

Ireland does not ask one inch of territory that is not contained within the four seas of Ireland. She does not ask to impose her will upon a single person who dwells beyond her shores. She appeals to the free peoples of the earth for the opportunity to go her own way, in peace and harmony with all the rest of mankind. She offers not alone to forgive, but so far as she can, even to forget past dealings with England and to dwell in peace and amity and concord with England as a neighbor.

But she refuses, as she has refused for seven hundred and fifty years, to permit the stranger—England—to govern her, to control her resources, to shut her off from contact with the other nations of the earth, to keep her out of her high place among the nations. She says, with the voice of a united people—not in a quarrelsome way, but in the quiet voice of reasoned judgment—that as she has fought for seven hundred and fifty years for her independence, so she is prepared to fight, if necessary, as long again in order to attain that independence, and to resume her place among the independent nations.

Her sons say for her, quite calmly, with knowledge of the fact that though scattered all over the world, they yet remain a great race, that England with all her power, with all her subtlety, with all her barbarity, cannot destroy them or wipe them out; that the fight which England waged through so many centuries can end only when England shall withdraw her last soldier from Ireland and leave that country, which she has been robbing for centuries, to govern and rule herself.

The diplomat of England has succeeded in many parts of the world as has no other diplomat in the history of mankind, but he has failed in Ireland as absolutely and completely as any diplomat has failed in other parts of the world.

It may be said without exaggeration that England has tried for centuries every form of tyranny, of cruelty, of inhumanity in her treatment of the people of Ireland. Her chief spokesman, Lloyd George, admitted in the House of Commons last year (1918) that England had made an absolute failure of her government of Ireland, and that today she was as unpopular with the mass of the people of Ireland as she was in the days of Oliver Cromwell.

Belgian Atrocities Duplicated a Hundred-Fold in Ireland

In the early stages of the late great war, the world was made familiar

with the story of the treatment the Belgians received in their own country at the hands of the invaders. It was but the recital and summary of England's treatment of Ireland. Not an atrocity was charged against the Germans in Belgium, not a cruelty practiced, not a crime committed, which could not be duplicated one hundred-fold in England's treatment of Ireland.

Proof of this fact need only be taken from the admissions of English historians; from the declarations of English statesmen—the only difference between Belgium and Ireland being that the atrocities in Belgium extended over a period of three or four years, while the atrocities of England in Ireland have extended over the centuries.

Belgium today, with a chorus of thanksgiving from all over the world, has resumed her place among the free nations of the earth and is to be indemnified in so far as money can indemnify a suffering country for losses sustained.

Ireland today, after seven and a half centuries of greater suffering still lies prostrate at the feet of England, while English statesmen, with a smug hypocrisy all their own, dilate with well simulated astonishment on the dreadful fact that England cannot leave Ireland to be governed by Irishmen, because, forsooth, the Irish cannot agree politically among themselves.

No Such Political Unanimity Exists Elsewhere in the World

The fact is, however, that there is in Ireland today a degree of political unanimity greater than exists in any other country on earth—very much greater than that which exists in England, where Lloyd George and his confederates are kept in power through a political coalition between eight different groups and much greater than exists in our own country.

Ireland is the only country in the world in which a plebescite has been taken since the armistice was declared last November (1918). The result of that plebescite was that the people of Ireland, by a vote of more than three to one, declared in favor of absolute separation from England, and in favor of the establishment of an Irish Republic.

This was on the fourteenth of last December. On the twenty-first day of January of this year, the elected representatives of the people of Ireland met in convention at the Mansion House in the City of Dublin, declared the existence of the Irish Republic, and made an appeal to the free peoples of the earth for its international recognition.

In furtherance of that appeal, Eamon de Valera, President of the Irish Republic, and several members of the Dail Eireann (Irish Congress) are now in this country. They seek to lay before the people of America actual conditions as they exist in Ireland today. They ask a hearing in order that America may understand that what the people of Ireland are asking, is full recognition of their status as a free and independent people.

The Irish people seek not some redress of grievances, large or small, but they demand that England take her grip off Ireland and leave the country to be governed by its own people, in its own way. The opinion of America has been aroused within the last year, as it never has been before, in favor of Ireland.

England Aims to Confuse the Issue

But the English diplomats with their accustomed skill are seeking to confuse the issue, to prevent our people from getting a clear understanding of what is at stake between Ireland and England.

It is their task, their duty at this time, not to simplify but to complicate the issue; not to clarify, but to confuse the situation. Because of that, there appear in a hundred forms, a hundred suggestions from England, as to a way out of the difficulty.

One group talks of Dominion Home Rule, while others talk of a dozen varieties of the same form. Carson talks of having conditions remain as they are, while Smuts—the "slim" South African who believes all peoples should continue to be swallowed up by the British Empire—comes forward with that latest suggestion that Ireland should receive the same recognition as that given to Bohemia.

But all ask for Ireland something which England wants—none offers to Ireland that which Ireland demands; because at bottom—let them

explain as they may—in any one of the hundred devious devices English statesmen and historians have used in attempting to explain it—the fact is that England remains in Ireland for England's profit, security and power, and does not intend to get out of Ireland until she is persuaded either by force, or by the prospect of greater profit in some other form, that it is to her interest to do so.

England says she remains in Ireland only for two reasons: First, because Irishmen cannot agree politically, and second, because Ireland cannot financially stand alone. Neither statement has the slightest foundation in fact.

Plebescite Taken in December Refutes First Claim

The plebescite taken in Ireland last December, under the most adverse conditions, shows that the people of Ireland have reached a degree of political unanimity practically without parallel. With the great English army of occupation and with all the machinery of the government in possession of the English garrison, the people of Ireland, by a vote of more than three to one, decided in favor of total separation of Ireland from England.

According to the standard American histories, Washington and his associates were never able to rally to their support more than a majority of the colonists, if, in truth, they ever had so large a proportion of the colonists on their side.

Even in the so-called convention presided over by Sir Horace Plunkett and hand picked by Lloyd George, there was a majority of 40 to 29 in favor of the proposed plan then given, which would have gone beyond the scheme of mis-called settlement now proposed by many responsible spokesmen for England. This is the more remarkable when it is considered that a large number of the members of that body were selected by Lloyd George and his associates for the express purpose of having them fail to agree to any settlement.

If the situation were not one of so much importance, it would be farcical to hear Lloyd George talk about the failure of the Irish to agree, when he himself remains in power in England, through a coalition made up of eight different groups, and was the direct cause of the so-called failure to which he refers.

England Remains in Ireland for Her Own Financial Gain

England dares to say that she remains in Ireland, because Ireland cannot financially stand alone. This, in spite of the fact that last year England made at least \$225,000,000 from her control of Ireland. She collected from Ireland and on Irish goods, during the preceding year, a revenue of more than 34,000,000 pounds. She spent on what she is pleased to call the "government" of Ireland, about 13,000,000 pounds, leaving a profit to herself of 21,000,000 pounds, an equivalent of about \$105,000,000 profit gathered to herself through taxation of Ireland.

Ireland did with the rest of the world the previous year a business of \$820,000,000, according to Sir Horace Plunkett, though other spokesmen for England say this estimate is entirely too low. Of the foreign business done by Ireland, more than 95% was done with England. Why? Because England has so completely cut Ireland off from the rest of the world that she is unable to send goods abroad except through England, or to buy abroad except through England, thus being compelled, against all economic law, to sell in the cheapest market and to buy in the dearest market.

It is only fair to presume, as a result of this, that the English tradesman, who is as shrewd, as adroit, as far-seeing in his own field as is the English diplomat in the field of government, made a profit of at least 15% on the turn-over of this business with Ireland.

Ireland thus gave to England, in additions to the taxation, a profit of \$120,000,000, thus making for England in a single year a profit of vast proportions—a profit of \$225,000,000 from her control of Ireland. That sum represents two hundred and twenty-five million reasons why England wishes to remain in Ireland. She is there as a matter of profit. She is.

there as a matter of interest. But, above all other reasons, strong and selfish as they are, England remains in Ireland because she regards her continued control of Ireland as vital and essential to her continued control of the seas.

England's world dominance depends upon her control of the seas, and as Ireland stands between her and the ocean, she must control Ireland in order to reach the seas and this is the reason above all why she insists upon Ireland in subjection. In the last analysis, it is the naked rule of might.

England Uses Ireland for a Great Dairy Farm

Much has been made by the spokesmen of England of the claim that Ireland must remain attached to England because England is the chief market for Irish goods, and the country through which Ireland's commerce with the world must be carried on, if Ireland is to seek a world market.

No more damning indictment could be brought against England than is brought by this bit of English propaganda. The simple outstanding fact is that England does not buy one dollar's worth of goods from Ireland which she could buy cheaper in any other part of the world. Further, because of her absolute control of the seas of the world, and of her economic contact with every other country on earth, England does not sell to Ireland one single article, no matter how insignificant, for which she could find a better price in any other part of the globe.

England uses Ireland for a great dairy farm, a broad grazing land, in order that food may be provided at the lowest possible price, for the teeming millions in the industrial centers of England. She uses Ireland as a dumping ground for the excess products of her factories—excess products which are turned out by her manufacturers either to meet special competition in some other country, or in order to keep her industrial workers employed so that they may not have time to think too much about the grievances and the industrial problems that lead to revolution.

England Destroyed the Population of Ireland

The world recently rang with English propaganda in the form of stories of the tyrannies of the Czar of the Russians and of the governments of the Central Empires. These empires have gone, and properly gone, the ways of every other tyrant of past history, but the fact remains that at their worst, these powers did not keep the population of Alsace-Lorraine, of Schleswig-Holstein, of Galicia, from greatly increasing in numbers and in prosperity.

Nor did the brutalities and outrageous excesses of power of the successive Czars of the Russias prevent Russian Poland from growing greatly in population and in wealth. Yet in the seventy years from 1845 to 1915, the population of Ireland, under what English spokesmen are pleased to call the benign reigns of Victoria, of Edward VII and of George V, has decreased from more than eight and one-quarter millions to 4,390,219.

Government-Made Famines to Destroy the People of Ireland

In that time, in spite of the cruelties and misgovernment practiced upon the people of those continental countries, no charge has been made and proved—as in the case of Ireland—of a government-made famine in which more than one million people starved to death in a land of plenty and another two millions were sent across the seas to seek in foreign countries an opportunity to live—an opportunity of which they were deprived in their own land by reason of the inhumanity of an alien government.

England has systematically broken down every effort made to build up the industries, to develop the resources of Ireland, while her spokesmen sing in chorus that all the wrongs of Ireland are ancient wrongs and that Ireland is today governed by the same laws that govern England and therefore the Irish people should be contented with their lot and cease to cry for liberty.

These assertions do not bear the slightest investigation of an impartial mind. Ireland has been turned into a grazing country by the laws

of England and by acts of the English government. The system of laws made for a highly complex industrial state like England are utterly out of place in a country whose main pursuit is made to be agriculture.

Great Harbors of Ireland in Idleness

The shipping controlled by England cuts Ireland off from all contact with the rest of the world and keeps in idleness twenty of the greatest harbors of Europe. It prevents the modern development of the ports of Cork, Limerick, Galway, Sligo and Dublin, ports which centuries ago were great trading ports, carrying on extensive commerce with the countries of continental Europe.

The railroads of the smaller and poorer country are controlled by the railroads of the richer and larger country, so that it cost until recently as much to send a barrel of flour across from Galway to Dublin as it did to send it from Chicago to Liverpool.

Most of the banks of Ireland are bought up or controlled by the banks of England, with the result that the deposits are not invested in Ireland for the development of its resources or the upbuilding of its industries, but are placed at the disposal of English manufacturers and business men, to aid in their schemes for exploiting the rest of the world and beating down the industrial rivals of England in Europe and in the United States of America.

The Irish Mercantile Marine, which for centuries carried on a commerce with continental Europe and America, has been wiped out of existence by adverse English laws. It has been replaced only by ships which bring Ireland's goods to England and England's goods to Ireland, in such a manner as to make the Irish market, to all intents and purposes, the private monopoly of England.

England, roughly speaking, is one and one-half times the size of Ireland, in square miles. When the Act of Union was laid upon Ireland, January 1, 1801, the population of Ireland was almost six million and the population of England was less than nine million. Today, the population of England is over thirty-six millions, and the population of Ireland, according to the latest English census, is 4,390,219. At the same date which marks the application of the Act of Union to Ireland, the population of Scotland was 1,700,000, while today, for the first time in history, it is larger than the population of Ireland.

Ireland Viciously Misrepresented Abroad

If Ireland had been satisfied to become the contented province of England and to abandon her fight for liberty and her desire for independence; if she would consent to become absorbed into England, to become a part of the English people, she would undoubtedly enjoy a prosperity that would mean all that the word implies.

It is because of the fact that she will not consent to such an arrangement, it is because she regards the ideal as of more consequence, even in this life, than she does the material, that Ireland must continue to be misrepresented abroad. If England has her way, her rule will continue in Ireland until the day and that generation when the British Empire, following all the other mighty empires of the past, shall hear the hour of her doom strike and shall be compelled to give way to the onward march of events which will carry its end into the mighty empire and bring freedom to the peoples all over the earth who are oppressed by it. Thoughtful observers the world over agree that that day is not far distant.

England has time after time overrun Ireland with her armies, with her confiscators, but she has never conquered Ireland and unless all signs by which the future may be gauged fail, she never can conquer Ireland.

Today, England faces an Irish race scattered all over the world, totaling thirty millions of people. She may boast that the sun never sets on the British Empire, but she must also admit that it never sets on the man of Irish blood. Wherever he has gone, into whatever country he may have been absorbed, he remains instinctively hostile to the British government and the things for which that government stands.

He was, as American historians tell us, the first to raise the banner of revolt against England in this country. According to that scholarly volume, "A Hidden Phase of American History," by Michael J. O'Brien, 38% of the rank and file of Washington's Army were Irishmen or sons of Irishmen—the most determined, the most unfaltering enemy England had in America.

He harbors no enmity against the English people. He pities rather than condemns them for the injustice under which they suffer. He understands the economic slavery which is imposed upon them—but he is the untiring, the unfaltering enemy of the conscienceless chicanery and corrupting materialism which are the chief weapons of English diplomacy.

America Was Led Into the War to Put an End to Autocracy

England may control statesmen, she may thunder from the pulpits and she may speak through the impersonal editorials of the press in various countries. She may purchase poets, she may hire apologists, she may rewrite school histories, but ever and always there will be men rising up throughout the world to thwart her schemes, to prevent the consummation of her carefully laid plans, to point out the facts of history and to arouse the liberty-loving people of the world to a realization of the fact that there can be no freedom on earth until the autocracy which hides behind the mask of navalism is as completely broken as was that which was covered by the garb of militarism.

England may succeed—as she has succeeded—in cajoling or outmaneuvering the spokesmen of free peoples at the Conference of Versailles; she may write the terms of peace there as she wrote them at Vienna a century before—but she cannot stifle the conscience of the world. She cannot satisfy America with the assertion that the war has been won because German and Russian militarism has been broken.

America was led into the war to put an end to autocracy, and that means autocracy in every form. America entered the war to break down special privileges in all governments and to see that not only militarism, but its twin sister, navalism, was broken beyond repair.

If America had not gone into the war it would have ended in an entirely different way. We threw our strength, our youth, our vigor, our idealism into the scales and we freely expressed our belief that when we won—for there was no "if" about it, once we went into the war—there would be an end to autocracy.

We declared there would be self-determination for all peoples; that there would be freedom of the seas—that freedom for which America through all her history has contended and for which she waged one victorious war.

America won the war, Sir Douglas Haig's comments to the contrary notwithstanding. America threw her soul, her honor, her ideals into the winning of the war, and America will not now be satisfied until all the peoples of the earth gather in the fruits of that victory.

There can be no just or permanent peace if, after destroying one form of autocracy, we leave another form more strongly entrenched than ever and resting upon a firmer foundation. The plain people throughout the world will not rest while two great empires remain, their strength buttressed and fortified by a peace which able spokesmen of these empires, with superior courage, superior diplomacy, with greater skill, impose upon mankind.

America magnificently won the war. America has failed to make the peace. America's spokesmen laid down splendidly the terms of peace which were to satisfy the world and which were agreed to in advance by the spokesmen of England, of France, of Italy. But America's spokesmen have been outplayed, outclassed, by the veteran diplomats of the latter countries.

America was satisfied with the proposed terms of peace. She is utterly dissatisfied with the proposed Peace Treaty and its accompanying League of Nations as drawn by Cecil and Smuts and now urged by the President of the United States as something behind which he may hide

the discomfiture resulting from his encounter with the skilled diplomats of the old world.

Gloss over the story as one may, the fact remains that out of the Conference at Versailles there have emerged two great powers greatly strengthened, the Island Empires of England and Japan. These two empires are now seizing and taking to themselves the choicest spots on earth, adding tremendously to their already swollen power.

The War, Fought for Democracy, Enthrones Autocracy

England, whose spokesmen assured us one hundred times during the war that she sought no territory, has had, in her own accustomed style, forced upon her "unwilling" shoulders huge strips of land which nominally belonged to the German Empire but which really belonged to their inhabitants. These people, as the result of the war, are simply transferred from one group of exploiters to another and a more experienced group.

Forty million Chinese Republicans were torn from their own country with the immense province of Shantung and turned over to the Empire of Japan, thus making it larger, in point of population, than the United States of America.

England, which, before we entered the war, on the visit of Balfour to Washington, was in the throes of despair and on the verge of defeat, can now promptly proclaim through her mouthpiece, Lord Cecil, that she emerges from the war richer and stronger, actually and relatively, than any other country on earth.

The war, fought for Democracy, may end with a peace which greatly increases the power of Autocracy. The war, fought to bring freedom of the seas, ends with England in unquestioned control of all the oceans of the earth. The war, fought to bring self-determination to all the peoples of the earth, has the doctrine of English pre-determination applied to some parts of the continent, in order temporarily to break up and permanently to cripple her European rivals. This doctrine is applied to Asia in such a way that the Japanese pre-determination may apply to the continent of Asia to the end that she may eventually absorb China and be ready with her intimate ally and close friend, England, for any emergency that may arise in any part of the world.

The Two Great Empires Insist That America Guarantee Their Possessions

Not satisfied with their own power to retain that which the self-satisfied and temporary spokesman for America has permitted them to absorb, England and Japan are insisting through Clause X in the proposed League of Nations that America shall guarantee for all time the present territorial integrity of the two remaining empires on earth.

One little knows the fierce passion for democracy which burns in the breast of the average American if he thinks that such a scheme will ever succeed. For one hundred and forty-three years America has been fighting with ever increasing vigor the battle of democracy.

America has ever been to the forefront in the struggle for human rights. She has sought to put an end in every way to the special privileges of the few. She favors the rights of the many and she will not now permit any man speaking for her to reverse her position, to destroy her old ideals, or to prevent her from carrying on the struggle until democracy shall finally triumph and the last stronghold of autocracy be destroyed.

Shantung a Monstrous Act

The transfer of Shantung with its forty millions of people from the great young democracy of China to the absolutist Empire of Japan is a monstrous act, indefensible, high-handed, un-American. The attempt to have us guarantee the territorial integrity of England and Japan is a monstrous and a cowardly act, an attempt not alone to truckle to the strong but to trample upon and destroy the rights of the weak. It would make us a party to every act of tyranny that hereafter was perpetrated throughout the world.

But history shows that even if it were possible for the great Senate of the United States to be false and recreant to its trust, a thing like

this could not be permanently done. It is asking us to do the impossible. All history teaches, all experience shows, that nothing is static in nature, that it is impossible for one generation to so impose its will on the world as to prevent a change in the boundaries of countries or in the fortunes of nations.

The League of Nations and the Holy Alliance

A century ago a "Holy Alliance" undertook to do the very thing that is again being attempted today, but not only is the "Holy Alliance" referred to nowadays by words of contempt and contumely, but the very governments which brought the treaty into existence are themselves but memories.

The old or little men who, for the moment, from time to time control the destinies of mankind may think themselves able to stop the progress of mankind and impose their wills upon advancing generations. But history shows that even the few great outstanding figures in the history of the centuries were not able thus to act for the future. And the last half-century, with its seven great empires thrown into the discard, shows how Fate laughs at the puny efforts of man to govern the future or control its destinies.

The world is just entering upon a great era of growth and reconstruction, yet this is the time when an old man, an older man and a very old man in whose hands Fate seemed for the moment to have whimsically placed the strings of the future, chose to abandon the high-sounding battle cries upon which the war was waged and won, and to make another ill-conceived and badly executed balance of power under the name of the League of Nations.

To do this, Clemenceau has tried to turn the wheels of time backward, tried to go back to the Europe of Louis XIV, breaking down the great peoples of the continent who outnumber and outbreed the French, and to set up, all over the continent, a series of buffer states that would prevent the growth of strong rivals to France, and leave her in the position of being the dominant military power of the continent.

England, running true to form, is entirely contented, for the moment, to have France resume her old place, among the nations, so long as she may see her economic rivals on the continent broken into bits and reduced to the position of impotence and poverty.

England herself, true to her predatory instincts, seizes in the name of civilization and justice, territories almost continental in area, rich in mineral and other natural resources, to be added to her already immense empire. She emerges from the war not only the greatest empire in extent that the world has ever known, with a monopolistic control of articles essential to the comforts and conveniences of mankind, but, through her unquestioned control of the seas, she will strive for a practical monopoly of the commerce of the world.

England emerges from the war with but one economic or industrial rival upon earth, these United States of America, whose public opinion she flatters herself that she controls and whose activities she at least has been able to guide so far as to make us forgive, if we did not forget, our previous experience with her.

England Seeks to Flatter America

Tossing everything into the scales in the last great contest in which she broke, at least for generations to come, the continental industrial rivals which were ousting her from the markets of the world, England has won decisively and absolutely, as far as empire is concerned, and now looks with complacency upon the task before her of cajoling and flattering America.

Meanwhile she carries on an economic war against us which will shut us out from the markets of the world, and which will gradually put us on the defensive in the fight that England is waging to recover the financial supremacy of the world, which she fondly believes we have but momentarily taken from her.

One plea that she has made calls attention to her tremendous sacrifices in the contest which she keeps reminding us was fought for our safety as well as for her own interests, and which many of her spokesmen, like Sir Douglas Haig, now remind us, since she is no longer in danger, was won by her and not by us.

England is shutting out the products of our manufacturers from her territories and so far as possible is shutting out our commerce in every corner of the globe and is depending upon her control of the seas to eventually shut us out from most of the foreign markets and leave us in the position where our manufacturers must be content to sell their products in so much of our own markets as England may choose to leave to us.

This is in no sense an exaggeration of what she seeks and of what she hopes. She relies upon the skill of her diplomats to bring this state of affairs about. She has very largely monopolized rubber, wool and other essential products of the world. She is seeking every day, with ever increasing chance of success, to monopolize the oil fields of the world, while all the time, with sophisticated casuistry, she keeps, through a chorus of a thousand voices raised in the press, the pulpits and the schools of America, assuring us that she alone in all the world is our constant friend, that but for her and her chivalrous, unselfish efforts we would have been overrun by some of the continental powers which were seeking this very world power which she now possesses to the full.

She would have us believe that she fought unselfishly in the war for the very purposes for which our President says we entered the war, yet her first act after the war was won by us was to say that the doctrine of the freedom of the seas could not be even considered at Paris, and utterly unconsidered it was and still remains.

She said she favored self-determination for all oppressed peoples and agreed with the President when he said that no people must live under a government not chosen by themselves. She must cynically smile to herself when she has the Peace Conference practically adjourn after having, with the help of that self-determination cloak, broken her rivals into pieces without any effort having been made to apply that doctrine to Ireland, to Egypt, to India, or to any of the other countries of which she is in possession with only the title that a robber has to his prey.

Attempts to Make Over the Map of the World in the Dark

She said she favored open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, and yet the "Holy Alliance" did not attempt to make over the map of the world with the same secrecy behind which these three gentlemen hid themselves at Paris. And so one might go through all of the points and find that English skill had escaped or English cynicism had flouted the warcries used in arousing mankind to save England, but which were in the way when an English peace had to be made.

The Englishman has a genius for diplomacy. Not content with being saved from destruction, not content with unprecedented gains in territory, in wealth, in prestige throughout the world, he now seeks to undo what he regards as mistakes of the past and to recover by mental ability that which he lost a century and a half ago by force of arms. In his self-satisfaction, he takes no account of the fact that the thirteen colonies, if they had continued as colonies, could not have begun to save him as the forty-eight states did actually save him, as he himself must admit.

England Aims to Undo the Work of the Revolution

He wishes, now that his peril is for the moment past, to undo the work of the Revolution, to destroy the great experiment in government which the fathers set up upon these shores, and by one stroke set back the hands on the clock of time for centuries. He wishes to do this, in order that the special forms of privileged autocracy which governs England may regain control of this country, and with its mighty strength and unlimited resources bring about that junction of the English-speaking races which his agents like Carnegie and Rhodes have foretold and for which they have labored for two generations.

He has hoped, because of his easy control of things at Paris, that he would find that the dead hand of Rhodes had actually won the victory. But he was astounded to find not alone the Senate of the United States standing like adamant against the proposed League of Nations, but the public sentiment of the people of America aroused as never before, not only to defend American rights, but to do what he complains of as an insolent thing—to interfere in “domestic” problems of English politics.

Washington Still the Seat of the American Government

He is horrified to find that in spite of huge expenditures, that in spite of the British propaganda of Northcliffe, Parker and others of that ilk, America refuses to be made again into a colony, and that interest in the freedom of the seas has been aroused in America as never before.

He has been brought to believe during the pressure of the war that American public opinion was only the echo of English public opinion, and is astounded now to find that his complete victory at Paris is likely to be turned into complete defeat at Washington, where, in spite of his hopes to the contrary, and to his utter consternation, he finds the real seat of American government still continues to be found.

The Real Strength of England

England, while hastening to assure us in a hundred ways that she had no selfish interest to serve in asking to have the League of Nations made operative and the integrity of the British Empire guaranteed by the power and resources of the United States, has unwittingly shown her own weakness. More and more thoughtful observers throughout the world are able to read in that demand the real opinion of English statesmen as to their own strength.

As a flash of lightning in a storm enables the observer in a second to see his way through the darkness, so the request for such guarantee by Lord Cecil has revealed the real weakness of England, instead of the apparent strength which he and his group have been teaching us to observe.

It is at once made clear that the England which must call on the world to guarantee its possessions is in a bad way both at home and abroad. It is an admission that it can no longer hope to call upon the strength of other countries in its hour of peril in order to preserve it, as it called the world into arms against France under Napoleon and against Germany under Wilhelm.

In spite of its censorship, the rumblings of industrial labor troubles with miners and transport workers and railway men are being heard in the land. The uprisings in India and Egypt, the dissatisfaction in Australia and in Canada, and, above all, the settled determination upon the part of the people of Ireland to take at their face value the promises of Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando, and to insist upon absolute self-determination, are matters which are calling the attention of mankind to the fact that there is and there can be no freedom on earth while this distended and gigantic appetite called the British Empire continues to threaten and to prey upon mankind.

America Is at the Parting of the Ways

The parting of the ways has come for America. Either we remain true to our ideals, true to the traditions of the past, still the moral leader of mankind and the hope of the oppressed people of the earth, or we join with the privileged class of England and become one of the predatory powers of the world.

Either we continue to lead the forces of Republicanism, whether they oppose the Central Empires of the continent, the Czars of the Russias; whether they stand against the Cecils and Balfours of England or the Mikado of Japan, and bring hope and cheer to the downtrodden people of Ireland, and we stand for the preservation of American rights or we join forces with Lloyd George, that artful dodger of English politics, in his efforts to further deceive the people and put off until another generation the settlement of the question of Ireland. The question of

Ireland, it must be remembered, can only be settled right when Ireland regains her independence and takes her place once more among the nations of the earth.

Like everything else human, America cannot remain static. America must either advance or retire. It must continue to lead the forces of democracy in their onward march to absolute freedom, or it must join the forces of autocracy and seek to snatch liberty from the other nations of the world.

America Is Asked to Enter Into an Entangling Alliance

We are asked now to abandon the advice given us by our first—and one of our greatest Presidents—against entering into entangling alliances with other powers. Not alone should we refuse to abandon this advice, but we should more than ever make clear to the world our unfaltering determination to abide by it and to make it one of the fundamental planks in our foreign policy. By standing by it in the past we have grown great and prosperous, masters of our own destinies, arbiters of our own fate.

We have been free to enter wars and free to remain at peace, according to the exigencies of the hour and according to what we conceived to be our own interest and the best policy for the protection of the liberties of mankind. We have been free to govern our actions by the best light and information which we could obtain upon questions at the hour of action.

Our liberty of action has not been foreclosed by reason of any commitment made in advance by those who had passed off the stage of action or were no longer in a position to speak for the majority of the people of our country. In other words, we have always been in the position of being governed by the living will of the present, rather than by the dead hand of the past.

Not alone every mandate of interest, but the high call of idealism should counsel us to remain in that position and not commit ourselves to any alliance which, obeying the passion and meeting the whim of the hour, could commit those who come after us to labors and sacrifices which they should not be asked to undertake except at their own free will and upon good cause shown to them at the hour of sacrifice.

We are asked now to be satisfied with a declaration of the Monroe doctrine, which according to many thoughtful observers, weakens and jeopardizes rather than strengthens that cardinal principle of American diplomacy. In this hour when a peace conference, called into existence for the purpose of making peace, did not content itself with settling the questions at issue between the belligerents, but went up and down the world seeking problems it might settle, we should extend and strengthen, rather than weaken, the doctrine laid down by James Monroe.

We should insist that the western hemisphere be not invaded by any power from the east; that no old-world possessions held here are to be increased, and we should also insist upon the absolute withdrawal from this territory of the flag of every empire or monarchy.

The British Flag Should Be Compelled to Follow the Other Flags from Our Shores

What is sacrosanct about the British Empire that it continues to rule vast sections of the American continent after all other empires have left its shores? The flags of Russia, of Spain, of Portugal, of Denmark have been withdrawn from this hemisphere. Why should we not now insist that the flag of England should follow the others and leave here in this hemisphere, dedicated for all time to liberty and republicanism, only the flags of the free?

Why should not our great neighbor on the north, which Cecil undoubtedly hopes some day to use as a weapon to smite us, should the economic war now being waged between the countries ever reach the acute stage of military or naval warfare, or if there ever should come a conflict between England's ally, Japan, and ourselves—why should not that great country have an opportunity of taking its place among the

republics of the earth, or even, if it chooses, of joining our country and thus bridging the gulf which separates us from our great territory of Alaska.

The ties which bind the people of Canada to us are every day increasing in number and in strength. The ties of trade which bind us are natural and are varied in form. The Great Lakes that lie between us are not intended to separate us, but should, by a thousand ties of commerce, draw us more closely together. Great numbers of our people come from the same racial stocks and in the late war, according to reports coming from ever increasing sources through our returned soldiers, our soldiers found a dozen ways in which they resembled one another for every way in which either found that they resembled the British soldiers.

Chamberlain Has Said That an Adjoining Republic Is a Menace

Thoughtful observers in the United States as well as in Canada realize that our interests are in the western rather than in the eastern hemisphere, and that the views of an ever-increasing number of Canadians with relation to the future of Ireland, the future of Shantung, are those of a majority of the people of America rather than those of the governing body of England.

The people of Canada are essentially a freedom-loving people, aside from what is pleased to call itself the governing class, which seeks for special privileges like the same class in England. Canadians desire liberty for themselves and would like to see the blessings of liberty given to every people.

More than that, if there be anything in the repeated declarations of Joseph Chamberlain in his attempts to justify the rubbing out of the two little republics of South Africa that republican institutions adjoining British territory were a menace to Britain, the governing class in England can look upon the continued existence of the American republic only as a menace to England and we have now the right to ask of her, having saved England, that as an evidence of her good faith in saying that she is a friend of liberty, that she withdraw her flag from this continent and leave it to be entirely dedicated to liberty and freedom.

This action should apply not alone to Canada, but to the British West Indies and to all other territory in both continents that England holds in the Western Hemisphere. Her holding of lands here is a menace. If there is any truth in the statements of her apologists that she holds these lands only at a loss and because of her unselfish interest in their inhabitants, let her withdraw. We can guarantee their independence under the Monroe Doctrine, and if she holds them only for use as a base in war, it must only be as against us and we should now insist that she give them up. Such withdrawal would be a practical renunciation on her part of any policy of hostility or unfriendliness to America.

Man Is Sighing for Peace

The late war aroused mankind to a realization of the fact that without regard to the boundaries of a country or the lines of race, war is a curse to mankind; that it takes not only millions of a generation to death and leaves other millions subject to sickness and disease as an aftermath, but it imposes on the future generations a back-breaking burden of taxation which means countless hardships and privations, while it brings only to the specially privileged peoples in every country immense fortunes which break down the foundations of liberty and sap the principles on which freedom exists.

Without regard to race or religion, man is sighing for peace. He realizes that war is an abnormal condition, that peace is the normal condition, and men are seeking as they have never sought before, to insure a peace that will prevent and destroy war.

Hopes Based on the Peace Conference Vanish Like a Dream

Mankind lived in the hope that the Peace Conference was to be a setting for the ending of all wars. Peoples were to be taken from the

thralldom of their aggressors, natural boundaries were to be established between states, armaments were to be destroyed, cannon were to be made into plowshares, and the fourteen points of President Wilson were to be made the basis of an enduring peace.

The Peace Conference has practically adjourned and all the hopes that were based upon it are passing into oblivion like the illusions of dreams. But the mass of mankind is more than ever insistent that there must be an end to human destruction and to the awful butchery and suffering that modern war spells for humanity. It has been driven into their minds that only by freedom to the oppressed of all nations can peace come, putting an end to the rule of the few and by bringing about government by the many, bringing at once liberty to man and an end to all war.

There may be for a short time a brief respite for those who remain in power, though they have deceived the people who have seen promises solemnly made, lightly broken. But no just or permanent peace can be made until the purposes to which the American people set their hands when they entered the war have been attained, until autocracy in all its forms has been destroyed, until not alone the militarism that was breaking the back of Europe but the navalism which is oppressing and controlling the whole world shall be destroyed and the right of self-determination shall be given, not alone to some, but to all the peoples of the earth.

A Court of Nations

A court of Nations will come in its own due time that will embrace all the people of the earth, that will see to it that all peoples are free, and that will see to it that the world war will actually bring a permanent peace. Such a Court will exalt justice and will destroy tyranny, but it will be a real Court, open to all peoples, and not an unreal League which is only another name for an Anglo-American Alliance, a Cecil-Smuts plan to exalt autocracy and enslave mankind.

Every red-blooded man favors such a Court of Nations as he favors the brotherhood of man and the counsel of perfection, but the more intensely he favors such an ideal the more he objects to and abhors the hypocrisy which would steal the ideal in order to cover a treaty of alliance that would fasten the robber grip of England on all the world.

The Guarantees of Ireland

Having set forth the claims of Ireland to independence, her demand and her right to be free; having exposed the hypocrisy of England in her varied attempts to confuse the issue, having torn away the mask behind which England hoped to securely hide from the gaze of the world, let us see what Ireland offers to the world as an evidence of her good faith.

The people of Ireland seek for themselves a form of government which would do justice to all the people within the four shores of Ireland. They seek to set up a government representing equality to all, injustice to none. They demand and will insist upon political equality and religious freedom for all the people of Ireland.

They insist that the majority must rule, but that the rights of political equality and religious freedom shall be given to all members of the minority as well as of the majority.

The people of Ireland believe that the minority is entitled to guarantees, but not to control. They are ready to embody a guarantee of these rights in their constitution, as they have been embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

They are ready to adopt these things which made for success in America and to avoid those things which were found to be mistakes or errors.

Contrasts Ireland and America

As a result of the Revolution in America estates were confiscated and men were exiled. The people of Ireland, however, are ready to say to the small group in Ulster who say they cannot remain as an integral part of the Irish people that they would part with them with regret, but

will guarantee to them, if they choose to sell, the full market value of all property which they own in Ireland.

The people of Ireland ask every man of whatever blood, of whatever religion, who is now in Ireland to remain in Ireland on terms which will insure absolute equality for all. They point out that there is no instance in its history of religious persecution or racial intolerance due to the majority of the people of Ireland; that wherever there has been persecution it has been by the minority, urged on against the majority by the English government.

The people of Ireland point out that in every section of the country, in every generation, Protestants of different sects or religious persuasions have been put forward as leaders by a majority of the Irish people, called to the highest elective office within the gift of the majority of the people. They urge that no fairer way of judging the future can be found than that furnished by the experiences of the past.

They are willing at all times to accord to others the rights which they insist upon for themselves. They demand, without further delay, that their present rights shall be recognized by the world and that international recognition shall be given to the republican form of government established in Ireland after a plebiscite held on her shores last December, in the presence of the great English army of occupation and under conditions which held the machinery of government at that time in the hands of Great Britain.

Why should England, that cried out with such strength against injustice in Belgium, be permitted to maintain and continue her rule of might in Ireland? Even her apologists admit that England's rule in Ireland is based only upon her bayonets and cannon.

How can England satisfy the conscience of the world with her explanation that what is wrong in Belgium and in Alsace is right in Ireland? She says that the people of Ireland should not cry out for liberty because, forsooth, they are today enjoying a larger measure of prosperity than they formerly had. Why should they not have it? Is it not the result only of their own thrift, their own industry, their own labors?

The apologists of England say that Ireland did an immense business with that country last year—that this is a sufficient answer to Ireland's cry that she is badly governed! How typical was Clive of the English government of all times when he said, after he had been accused of robbing India of immense treasure, that when he saw the wealth of the country he was astonished at his own moderation! England's statesmen feel that it is right to steal Irish sheep so long as they return a chop to the Irish owner.

The proposition is an insult to the intelligence and conscience of the world and in spite of the marvelous system of propaganda which the English diplomat has built up, he cannot prevent the cry of Ireland for freedom from resounding in all parts of the world and coming back to plague him until it is satisfied by having justice done to Ireland.

The English governing class are the Bourbons of modern days. They learn nothing, forget nothing. Let them beware lest the aroused public opinion of mankind shall sweep them as it swept their German and Russian cousins into oblivion and break into bits the British Empire, which is the last bulwark of autocracy against the on-rushing tide of liberty and democracy.

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